X

HISTORIANS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ḤAḌRAMAWT

Introduction

Ḥaḍramawt, properly speaking, is the name of the Wādī, a province separated from its coast by an empty stony plateau. Each of these provinces is a distinct entity, though whereas al-Shiḥr and the minor anchorages of the sea-coast have played their role in world commerce, the Wādī has been a backwater, a reservoir of men, warriors or scholars, but the latter have been influential in spreading the Shāfi'ī school of Islām far and wide in the diverse littoral provinces of the Indian Ocean. The ruined state of so much of the formerly cultivated areas of the Wādī cannot disguise how much more populous and important it was to Arabia itself in antiquity, for the Wādī looks inward to Arabia as well as outwards to the southern seas. Ḥaḍramī history, and in this essay I interpret Ḥaḍramawt in its broadest territorial sense, though merely an eddy in the main current of events, has an importance quite disproportionate to the size or position of the country, firstly because it was the fount of Islamic learning for so many lands, and secondly because its peculiar, ancient, and still surviving institutions can by the comparative method, throw rays of light upon many an obscure aspect of Islamic and Arabian history. In the principal towns of Ḥaḍramawt a literary and legal society survives, of a type even more archaic than one could find in such a city as Fez in Morocco, though I have remarked a great change over the last twelve years. The chief centres of intellectual activity are the holy city of Tarīm which I picture as very similar to medieval Mecca, Saiwūn, to a much lesser extent Shibām which is largely mercantile, al-Mukallā, and al-Shiḥr, but certain villages are celebrated for families of scholars such as Ḥuraiḍah and Ghail Bā Wazīr, to mention two only of many, and nearly every village has at least one or two scholars trained on traditional lines.

Since my first tour in Ḥaḍramawt in 1947–8 I have tried, in so far as other commitments have permitted, to establish the basic data in print relating to Ḥaḍramawt, without attempting to consider its history and civilization in their more general aspect. This is essential, for, in common with all the provinces of the southern half of the Arabian peninsula, published, i.e. printed material, is scarce, and though where history is concerned there is a wealth of manuscript material at certain periods, when examining the early Islamic history of Ḥaḍramawt we have little source material outside brief passages or remarks made by authors concerned with other affairs, and generally natives of other Arab countries beyond the confines of Arabia. Some of the essential tools are now in our hands. For example Hermann von Wissmann's maps [1] upon which

[1] cf. our joint article, ' A new map of southern Arabia ', *Geographical Journal*, CXXIV, 2, 1958, 163–71. I relied greatly on 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir's *Shāmil*, *infra*. Further geographical material from *al-Nisbah ila 'l-mawāḍi' wa-'l-buldān* (' Materials ', I, no. 11) is published as ' Two sixteenth-century Arabian geographical works ', *BSOAS*, XXI, 2, 1958, 258–75.

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I have verified the place-names to the extent that I reckon they will be at least 80% correct for Ḥaḍramawt can be used to follow tribal movements. My 'Materials'[1] though requiring much more addition, and some emendation, do give an initial survey and analysis of manuscript source material, and *The saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*[2] is an *esquisse* of a larger study which I hope to develop. The bibliographical content of these two studies will not be repeated here, nor yet that included in my study of the great Ḥaḍramī prophet Hūd.[3] My debt to Ḥaḍramī scholars in many lands is very great, my admiration for their methods and industry unbounded, and my recognition of their generosity in instructing and entertaining a student not of their faith or outlook, sincere. My contribution has been to collect, record, and arrange what I have seen, in accordance with the norms of Western scholarship.

1. *Source material from the pre-Islamic inscriptions*

The great advances in recent years made in discovering, but particularly in the interpretation of the pre-Islamic inscriptions, means that we shall shortly have to reconsider not only pre-Islamic history, but the history of early Islām itself. In the past the interpretation of the content of the inscriptions has been so far off the mark that they meant very little, but the greater accuracy in interpretation, and the linking of their content with early Islamic institutions, and, in my view, with Arabic, is altering the whole situation. The process is going to be most uncomfortable for those historians who have become accustomed to regard the existing history of early Islām as more or less fixed and finite, and to Muslim scholars wedded to certain traditional interpretations of history. We are, I believe, on the brink of a major readjustment of our concepts of this side of Arabian history, but Ḥaḍramī history is not likely to be very directly affected by the adjustment. Inscriptions are rare in Ḥaḍramawt itself, possibly because, to make an analogy with the present day, buildings were mainly constructed of adobe, whereas in the Yemen stone is more generally used, and when inscriptions are made to-day they are in plaster, although funerary inscriptions are in baked clay. There is nevertheless, still much to be found in Ḥaḍramawt, especially in the lower portions of the Wādī where civilization was highly developed, for in the now deserted Ḥuṣn al-'Urr district there was a whole complex of cultivable *wādīs* forming a rich agricultural area. I have two or three fragments of stone inscriptions from this part of the country. Generally speaking, one seems to find little about Ḥaḍramawt in the inscriptions other than names, though I must except the group that refers to the ritual hunt, examined by Professor Beeston.[4] Archaeological evidence still hardly enters into consideration.

[1] 'Materials for South Arabian history', *BSOAS*, XIII, 2, 1950, 281–307, XIII, 3, 1950, 581–601, referred to in this essay as 'Materials', I and II.

[2] Published London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1957.

[3] 'Hūd and other pre-Islāmic prophets', *Le Muséon*, LXVII, 1–2, 1954, 121–79.

[4] A. F. L. Beeston, 'The ritual hunt', *Le Muséon*, LXI, 3–4, 1948, 183–96.

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2. *The Islamic period*

At the time of the Prophet historical information is, relative to the succeeding centuries, abundant, but my theory is that the Islamic conquests stripped Ḥaḍramawt of man-power for the campaigns and settlements in southern Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, and later, Spain. I should, at least, not be surprised to find that archaeological evidence pointed to the abandonment of irrigated land in the lower Wādī Ḥaḍramawt about this period, as a result of the neglect of irrigation works become uneconomic through the influx of wealth and departure of whole groups of people. Most interesting too, is the short account from the *K. al-muḥabbar*, published by Beeston[1] with a revealing commentary on the 'apostasy' of Ḥaḍramawt and the part played by the female hierodules of noble birth therein. I may say that this passage was not received at all well by some Ḥaḍramīs who considered it an aspersion on their ancestors, although it has the ring of authenticity; it did not, however, seem to disturb my Saiyid friends whose ancestor arrived some centuries later! This passage does enable us to some extent to bridge over the gap between Islamic and pre-Islamic history, which it is most difficult to do. It is accepted by Western historians, and, I dare say, by a good many Ḥaḍramī scholars, that books of the genre of *K. al-tījān*, whatever data with a sound historic basis they may contain, are such a jumble of fact and fiction, their chronology so telescoped, that they can only be treated as legend.[2]

In the first and following centuries there is a certain amount of information about the Khawārij and Ibāḍīyah, but glancing through the late 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubaidillāh's *Baḍā'i' al-tābūt*[3] historical data are scant, and even the memory of early history writing seems to have perished. It may of course be that some of the Ibāḍī history of Ḥaḍramawt will be found to have been preserved in Oman, but my guess is, from the little I have seen of Omani historical works, that there too, early chronicles have long vanished without trace. Yet it seems from incidental references to Ḥaḍramī *fuqahā'* that learning flourished even at this epoch, for example the oft-quoted group quoted by Ibn Samurah,[4] in the sixth century. Ḥaḍramī historians of the present time hold that the Saiyids very early played a leading part in driving Ibāḍism from Ḥaḍramawt. While it is possible that this is a tradition amongst the 'Alawīs and factually true, I know of no early source material to support such an assertion, and am inclined to think that they were neither sufficient in numbers or influence to combat Ibāḍism until it had already disappeared. Its rise and wane, however, are one of the problems of Ḥaḍramī history, as too of course is the question of how Ḥaḍramawt became Islamized, which is obviously something that did not happen overnight. Nor am I quite sure how far we can accept

[1] 'The so-called harlots of Ḥaḍramaut', *Oriens*, v, 1, 1952, 16–22.

[2] I have a neat demonstration of the growth of legend to appear shortly in my Portuguese material, a Mahrah tale current to-day, which I have checked against Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī's annals.

[3] I have used the index published by his son in Aden, without date.

[4] *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*, ed. Fu'ād Saiyid (Cairo, 1957), p. 152.

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the view that the *ṭarīqat al-taṣawwuf* first appeared in the sixth and early seventh centuries of the hijrah, with Saiyid 'Abdullāh Bal-Faqīh [1] though there seems much stronger evidence for this.

3. *The Ḥaḍramī chroniclers and historians*

(*a*) *Shanbal*

Shanbal's chronicle has already been described in 'Materials', I,[2] and since the initial publication of that notice I have been slowly building up a critical edition of the text the difficulties of which have been formidable. It is not until *c.* 576/1180 that more than an occasional curt sentence relating to Ḥaḍramawt appears; this applies also to other chronicles, and I do not accept with Saiyid 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir [3] that there was necessarily an earlier part of Shanbal prior to A.H. 500, now no longer extant, but if part of Shanbal is missing I should be inclined to argue that this was simply because it contained so little, for the Ḥaḍramī content of Bā Sharāḥīl's chronicle prior to A.H. 500 is very slight also. I think that Shanbal has drawn largely on Bā Ḥassān [4] whose compilation itself seems based on poor MSS, or texts lacking diacritical points, where the material relates to general Islamic history. Bā Ḥassān may have drawn on Ibn Khallikān for some of his non-South Arabian material.

In 'Materials', I (p. 292) I made allusion to some pages of MS shown me by Saiyid Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī al-Ḥāmidī in Saiwūn, thought to be part of Shanbal's history. Now one day in Saiwūn a number of leaves in an identical hand were brought me, and when Saiyid Ṣāliḥ and I had the chance of comparing them with his sheets we discovered they were actually both parts of the same MS. I induced the owner to present these to Saiyid Ṣāliḥ so that he has now all the leaves known to be extant, for I felt they should be preserved in the hands of a single person. Examining the sheets and correlating them with Shanbal's chronicle I discovered a marginal note just before the year 823/1420,

الى هذا الموضع تاريخ الفقيه با شراحيل وما بعده من تاريخ الفقيه عبد الله با سخله/سنحله كتبه عبد الله سصرعله (*corrupt*)

'Up to this place is the history of the *faqīh* Bā Sharāḥīl, and what comes after it is taken from the history of the *faqīh* 'Abdullāh Bā Sanjalah/Sakhlah. 'Abdullāh... wrote it'. This then was a novel find, the more so because Bā Sharāḥīl (the surviving fragments of his chronicle going back to A.H. 319) was previously completely unknown as a chronicler, nor is he mentioned by Shanbal himself—from which I conclude that Shanbal did not draw directly on Bā Sharāḥīl's chronicle. On the other hand Shanbal does record the death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khaṭīb, author of *al-Jawhar al-shaffāf* [5] probably utilized by him as a source.

[1] *Istidrākāt* . . . (Aden, 1956), p. 6.
[2] pp. 291–2, no. 2.
[3] *Jany al-shamārikh* (Aden, A.H. 1369), p. 30.
[4] 'Materials', I, p. 299, no. 8, and *infra*, p. 245.
[5] cf. 'Materials', II, p. 582, no. viii. It is also a source of the *Qilādat al-nahr*. I have seen vol. II with Saiyid Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir Āl al-Kāf and collated its contents with Shanbal's chronicle.

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Though Shanbal and Bā Sharāḥīl can be used to amend or complete one another's texts, it is strangely exasperating to find that a crux in Shanbal often corresponds to a badly wormed piece in Bā Sharāḥīl, or the latter has omitted diacritical points just at this place.

The author of *al-Sanā' al-bāhir*[1] describes Shanbal as a scholar of such parts that I can hardly believe this poorly written chronicle can be his, for al-Shillī has a good literary style himself. It certainly does not fit the description as 'an informative chronicle wherein he brought together apposite historical data, legal judgments, eminent principles, and valuable admonitions'. Al-Shillī, however, who died a little over 170 years after Shanbal, does not seem to have had access to Shanbal's chronicle, so he may be writing merely from hearsay, or else perhaps the recension that is in my hands is merely a *mukhtaṣar*. Bad as the Ḥuraiḍah MS upon which my sole reliance has been placed[2] is, and though it may possibly have been tampered with to a certain extent—though this I doubt—it shows no partiality in presenting the facts, though the principles, if so they may be called, of selection are strange.

Apart from Bā Ḥassān and al-Khaṭīb, I have been somewhat exercised to discover the sources from which Shanbal compiled his chronicle. Within the period covered approximately by his own lifetime, naturally the best part of all, he relies on information he could collect himself, and he may have used Bā Makhramah's *Qilādat al-naḥr*, a point still to be investigated. In the divided nature of Ḥaḍramawt there was clearly no likelihood of the preservation of archives, apart from legal documents. In so anarchic a land the value of documents was doubtless greatly inferior to the possession of good troops. The tribal leaders probably did not bother about preserving documents but may have left them then, as often now, in the hands of Saiyids and Shaikhs. Although I have heard Saiyid Muḥammad b. Hāshim tell the Kathīrī Sulṭān that his family tree was preserved in the palace at Saiwūn, even that only goes back just so far, and the origins of the Kathīrī Sulṭāns beyond this are uncertain.

By contrast the Mashāyikh, like saintly families in other Muslim countries, did bestir themselves to write about their pious ancestors and their achievements, and they kept careful record of their family tree. I have, for example, inspected the Bā Faḍl tree. The ramifications of a family may have been recorded for economic reasons in part, so as to claim *musāmaḥāt* or tax exemptions, and in part as a matter of pride and propaganda. It may be also that in their *ḥawṭahs* and in their persons, the guarantee of security allowed them to compose, and as repositories of *'ilm* and writing they can be compared with the medieval 'clerk'. It would be relevant to try and determine whether the

[1] cf. 'Materials', II, p. 583, no. xii. I have extracted the material relative to Shanbal.

[2] Saiyid 'Alī Bā 'Abūd who has written a number of articles in *al-Risālah* (Cairo, 1941) under the general title of 'Min tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-siyāsī', told me that he had at one time a transcript of a copy of *Tārīkh Shanbal* belonging to Saiyid 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, but that he had lost it during the war with a number of other papers.

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Mashāyikh compiled family hagiologies before the arrival of the Saiyids in Ḥaḍramawt or not. The Saiyids do keep a well-maintained record of their pedigree, but the very fact that it was possible in their early years there for certain elements to attempt to impugn this pedigree—and to be taken seriously enough for the Saiyids to adopt counter-measures—may imply that written family records were not so carefully guarded as nowadays. The whole affair suggests that the level of literary culture was much lower than in, say, the fifteenth century A.D.

It seems logical to suppose that the compilation of hagiologies followed the recording of family trees. The earlier collections seem to have been made by single families which probably kept a master-copy. There are the hagiologies of the Bā 'Abbād,[1] of the Bā Khaṭīb, and the early Saiyid collection of the Bā Qushair, all of which I used in 1954 through the kindness of Saiyid 'Alī b. Sālim al-'Aṭṭās of Ḥuraiḍah, or Saiyid Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥāmidī, but important as the Bā 'Abbād collection is because this family is associated with the tomb of Hūd, these are only a few out of hundreds, perhaps thousands of such family biographies and collections of miracles. The Saiyids of course have been no less active in this sphere, and individual families seem to have shown a clannish spirit not less pronounced than that of the Mashāyikh.[2] Shanbal and other chroniclers must inevitably have used some of these family hagiologies in compiling their chronicles, though probably they drew most largely on general collections—a sort of intermediate stage, which themselves drew on the family hagiologies. Shanbal, in common with the other chroniclers, is much affected in his selection of material by the district in which he lived. He can be contrasted with Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī who has far more items of information relating to the southern coasts.

The great universality of the Islamic faith, and the influence of Ṣūfism too in all probability, have prevented family rivalries from developing into religious schism, but it was centuries ago that the antagonism grew up between certain families of Shaikhs and Saiyids which endures to this day and affects their attitudes towards the writing of history. It must not be thought, however, that it is simply a question of two sides, for some Mashāyikh are pro-Saiyid, some Saiyid clans are at loggerheads with each other, and some Saiyids disclaim a privileged position.

Apart from obituaries of *'ulamā'* and *fuqahā'*, which incidentally are comparatively rare in Bā Sharāḥīl, Shanbal does provide us with a basic foundation upon which to construct a history of medieval Ḥaḍramawt, but like so many

[1] cf. ' Materials ', II, p. 589, no. lvii. I have seen a copy of this in Saiwūn and another in Ḥuraiḍah. For the Bā Khaṭīb cf. ' Materials ', I, p. 305, no. 18, from which I have made extracts. In Ḥuraiḍah, Saiyid 'Alī b. Sālim has a copy of *Miftāḥ al-sa'ādah wa-'l-khair fī manāqib al-Sādah Banī Qushair*, some of which I have used. Saiyid 'Alī b. Sālim has also a MS with 'Amudī, Hurmuzī, Bā 'Abbād, and Bā Wazīr biographies, in four individual treatises. I have also an acephalous MS of Bā Hārūn, possibly *Uns al-sālikīn* (b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, p. 193), commencing at tale no. 78 of the total of 303 tales.

[2] cf. my *Saiyids*, 21.

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Arabic works his history is, as it were, shorthand notes. To derive advantage from these one must know a very great deal about families and the social order, the geography of the country, the fashion in which tribal law operates, and what at first sight appears a dull enough text, takes on quite a new significance, though Shanbal is never so interesting as Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī.[1] No person is better qualified to render this service to Shanbal than 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir.

(*b*) *Other Ḥaḍramī chroniclers*

Reference has been made to the *Tārīkh Bā Ḥassān* which as 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir justly observes [2] has not come down to us complete.[3] The extant copy has a curious tale attached to it. The 'Aṭṭās Saiyids told me that they lent it to Freya Stark who took it away with her, but, a few years ago, presented it to the Bodleian, and whence through Professor Beeston's kindness, I was able to consult it. No doubt there was some misunderstanding of the intention of the 'Aṭṭās Saiyids, but this has been the Bodleian's good fortune. Bā Ḥassān's text is in great disorder, but a superior work to Shanbal from a literary aspect; there seems to be some relationship of a fairly close nature between the two texts, and Bā Ḥassān also contains material to be found in our earliest extant chronicler, Bā Sharāḥīl. Bā Ḥassān belongs to the coastal group; the last extract I have entered from his chronicle in Shanbal is dated 800/1397 and he died in 818/1415–16, so a preliminary estimate may be made that the entries for the last 18 years are missing from the existing copy.

Bā Sanjalah/Sakhlah, yet another Shiḥrī,[4] is a tenth/sixteenth century writer. It looks as if his chronicle might be a continuation of that of Bā Sharāḥīl, but it covers a longer period than 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir had supposed.[5] Almost certainly an eyewitness of Portuguese activities in al-Shiḥr, he has been much used by Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī, along with a history, no longer extant, of 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Bā Makhramah. As I have discussed these at length in my preface to my forthcoming book on the Portuguese I need say no more here.

In 'Materials', I [6] Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī is examined at some length, but I have one important correction to make. Through the good offices of the Saiyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Aṭṭās I was able to purchase the copy described as *Tārīkh ḥawādith al-sinīn* . . . which now discovers itself to be not only the usual

[1] The British Museum MS of *al-Sanā' al-bāhir*, fol. 208a–209b, confirms that Shanbal died in 920/1514–15.

[2] *Jany al-shamārīkh* (Aden, A.H. 1369), p. 30.

[3] cf. 'Materials', I, p. 299, no. 8. He is quoted by *al-Fawā'id al-sanīyah* ('Materials', I, p. 296, no. 5), which calls him a *faqīh*.

[4] 'Abdullāh . . . al-Saqqāf, *Tārīkh al-shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramīyīn* (Cairo, 1353–), I, p. 180; 'Materials', I, p. 300, no. 9. The *TSH* puts his death at al-Shiḥr in 995/1587, and seems to prefer to call him Bā Sakhlah.

[5] Quoted in 'Materials', loc. cit. He probably deduced this from the extracts in Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī.

[6] 'Materials', I, pp. 292–5, no. 3.

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version of the text, but a very correct one. I have noted the existence of other MSS in my Portuguese book. An edition of this informative history should certainly be made, but though not so difficult as Shanbal it will not be easy. The composition post-dates that of *al-Nūr al-sāfir* which Bā Faqīh quotes, as he does also Shanbal and Bā Ḥassān. Two unknown sources which figure in the text are the *Khaṭṭ* of al-Saiyid Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Asqa' Bā 'Alawī, and that of the Shaikh al-Faqīh Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Jābirī. Up to the present I have discovered no biographical details upon this most informative of all the Ḥaḍramī chroniclers, though he was not contemporary with much of the period he covers.

Al-Nūr al-sāfir of Ibn al-'Aidarūs which, like al-Shiḥrī covers the tenth/sixteenth century, is available in print. It is a book of strongly Saiyid colour, and disappointing in historical detail, rather poorly informed about the exciting events of the coast, but al-Shillī's *al-Sanā' al-bāhir*, *dhail al-Nūr al-sāfir* is superior in historical content. Al-Shillī (ob. 1093/1682) is also the author of the collection of Saiyid biographies known as *al-Mashra' al-rawī* printed in Cairo. He alludes to a history of the eleventh/seventeenth century of his own composition in the latter work [1] which 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir [2] says can hardly be come by, but I wonder if indeed it is still extant at all.

The most interesting southern Arabian chronicle I have seen so far is al-Jarmūzī's *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkilīyah*, now in the Sulṭān's Library in al-Mukallā, but it was formerly in the possession of 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Qu'aiṭī. It has quite a deal of reportage on events in Ḥaḍramawt though it seems, as far as I can see, to cover only a few years on each side of 1064–8/1653–8, a period of special significance not only for Ḥaḍramawt but for all south-west Arabian history. This, however, I have also discussed at length in another context, and it belongs to the Yemenite court history school. I believe that a second MS is available in the Vatican, and inquiry will have to be made into the Yemenite MSS there and in the Ambrosiana for Yemenite material containing Ḥaḍramī history. When the Arab League has completed the Ambrosiana catalogue it will be more possible to assess what is to be found there, and I should not omit to mention the list of South Arabian histories that is being drawn up by Fu'ād Saiyid, a member of the mission headed by Professor Khalīl Yaḥyā Nāmī to the Yemen. Professor Nāmī's report [3] should also be consulted. In Daw'an in 1947 I was told that most of the best Ḥaḍramī historical MSS had already been taken to Malaya, Java, and other places. I am inclined to think too that much in the way of Ḥaḍramī MSS may yet be discovered in early centres of emigration in India, and also perhaps in Hyderabad.

[1] cf. *Mashra'*, II, p. 19. This is additional to *al-Sanā' al-bāhir*. For al-Shillī cf. the latter work, BM MS, fol. 312a.

[2] *Jany al-thamārīkh*, p. 30.

[3] *al-Bi'that al-Miṣrīyah li-taṣwīr al-makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabīyah, taqrīr* . . . (Cairo, 1952). For example Professor Nāmī showed me in Cairo (p. 37, no. 22) *al-Nūr al-mushriq fī fatḥ al-Mashriq* which is a very early work on the conquests east of the Yemen.

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4. *Genealogical works*

The books of *ansāb* can be divided into two classes, family trees and general works dealing with large numbers of families and tribes. Of Saiyid genealogies enough has already been said, but I have been able to purchase an excellent manuscript copy of the *Shams al-ẓahīrah*[1] written in Java in 1327/1909. The *ansāb* books of the other great families are still largely unrecorded. Where general works of *ansāb* are concerned, their value is highly problematical for they are difficult to use and interpret.

The medieval *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*[2] has now been printed, but when I compared it with a copy in the hands of Saiyid 'Alī b. Sālim in Ḥuraiḍah there seemed to be many important divergencies in his MS text. Saiyid 'Abdullāh Bal-Faqīh of Tarīm criticized the author for the strange remark (p. 113), *inqaḍā nasab al-Ashrāf kāffah bi-'l-Ḥijāz wa-'l-Mashriq wa-mā baina-humā min a'māl al-Yaman*. This I too, find difficult to explain. Other MS sources are cited in al-'Aṭṭās's *Risālah*[3] which seem to be repeated by 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir.[4] In Baiḥān I had the good fortune to see a manuscript which I had long hoped to find, *al-Qawl al-ḥasan fī ma'rifat ba'ḍ sukkān Ḥaḍramawt wa-'l-Yaman* of Riḍwān b. Aḥmad Bā Riḍwān, stated by 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir to have lived in 'Īnāt. Bā Riḍwān availed himself of material from Saiyid Aḥmad b. 'Alawī Kharid/Khirid, and the *Nubdhah* or *Kitāb* of Muḥ. b. Sa'd b. Abī Shukail, the *Khaṭṭ* of the faqīh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bā Ghawth, quoting from Ḥusain al-Ahdal[5] and *al-Nūr al-muzhir* of al-Junaid.[6] He preserves quotations in other authors from *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah*[7] and al-Ash'arī's *Ta'rīf*[4] which latter is still extant in MS. Fuller details of authorities used by Bā Riḍwān are, however, to be found in the passages quoted from him in al-'Aṭṭās's *Risālah* of which I have an edition in hand. It is considered that *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah*, were it extant, would be a source of importance. However, the quotations preserved by the *Risālah* of al-'Aṭṭās from the various writings enumerated, seem, by and large, more indicative of what the Ḥaḍramīs would like to think to be their origins, rather than positive historical evidence, though the *Risālah* is none the less interesting on this account, and certainly not all its information is to be condemned out of hand as unhistorical.

5. *Historical materials for the nineteenth century*

The dramatic Kathīrī-Yāfi'ī struggle for possession of Ḥaḍramawt is still

[1] 'Materials', II, p. 582, no. vii. Sources are quoted in the MS, p. 23, Ibn 'Inabah, and pp. 162, 169, 175–6 seq.

[2] *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī ma'rifat al-ansāb*, ed. K. W. Zettersteen (Damascus, 1949), a late seventh/thirteenth century work.

[3] 'Materials', I, p. 301, no. 15.

[4] *Jany al-shamārīkh*, p. 46. The *Ta'rīf al-ansāb* of al-Ash'arī is listed in Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl., I, 558. This seems to have been a source for Abū Shukail's *Nubdhah*.

[5] cf. *GAL*, II, 185, Suppl., II, 238, and *'Uqūd al-almās*, II, p. 51.

[6] *Ob.* 1275/1859. Cf. 'Materials', II, p. 585, no. xxxi; Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, p. 117.

[7] cf. 'Materials', I, 301. He is described by Bā Riḍwān as living in Ghurfat al-Shaikh Bā 'Abbād, and his mother was a daughter of the scholar Muḥ. b. 'Umar Baḥraq. A copy of this work might possibly be found in Ṣif of Daw'an.

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living history in the country, involving as it did also the Ḥaḍramīs of Hyderabad, Malaya, and Indonesia, though to-day the younger generation would like to see it fade from people's memories. The British part in the struggle can be fairly easily reconstructed from archives, but I must quote here from a MS, possibly b. Ḥamīd's history, which I saw in the hands of the late Saiyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf which says, ' Then we heard that he (Sulṭān 'Umar Ṣalāḥ) [1] had arrived at Bandar Aden, but Ṣāliḥ Ja'far deceived him, and bore witness against him of words and conditions of affairs that had not proceeded from him '. This shows that care will have to be taken with evidence from British archives relying on this interpreter. A rather confused account of the struggle, which is certainly complex enough, is given by Ingrams [2] with some of the official sources.

On the Arabic side there is a great spate of poetry, inspired by the wars, which was on the tongues of Ḥaḍramīs in the Far East as well as Ḥaḍramawt itself. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Voorhoeve of Leiden University Library who drew my attention to several volumes of this verse in the popular language collected by Snouck Hurgronje, some of which is of high quality. I have already spoken of this political verse and published some examples of it.[3] A further MS in Leiden [4] seems to contain some account of the wars with further poetry composed on certain notable occasions. While in Tarīm I transcribed from Shaikh 'Abdullāh Raḥaiyam what I think can best be dubbed ' Tales of Tarīm ', stories in colloquial Arabic collected by him from old men who had actually been present at these battles of the past. This type of information is dwindling each year as the older men are gathered to their fathers but the tales are interesting reading and the outlook of the age is very remote from that of to-day. I have no doubt that much, on the Qu'aiṭī side, might still be collected in al-Mukallā or al-Shiḥr.

The principal written source for the period is the *Tārīkh b. Ḥamīd* [5] which I have already noted. It is used by the author of *Tārīkh al-shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramīyīn*, but was not available to Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī when he first wrote his *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-siyāsī*. He describes it as a rare MS, a record of a collection of events and historical information, and points out that the second half differs from the first and must be considered b. Ḥamīd's own composition. He states that it is obviously strongly pro-Kathīrī and shows a deep hatred for Yāfi', against which it makes unfounded allegations. B. Ḥamīd was known to Saiyid Muḥammad b. Hāshim who went to visit him when b. Ḥamīd was

[1] ثم بلغنا انه وصل (عمر صلاح) الى بندر عدن فخانه صالح جعفر وشهد عليه باقوال واحوال لم تصدر منه. 'Umar b. Ṣalāḥ can be traced in C. Snouck Hurgronje, ' Zur Dichtkunst der Bâ 'Aṭwah in Ḥadhramôt ', *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke*, ed. C. Bezold (Giessen, 1906), 97–101.

[2] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on . . . Hadramaut* (Colonial 123) (London, 1937).

[3] *Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt* (London, 1951), Ar. text, pp. 54–60.

[4] P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden . . .* (Leiden, 1957), p. 470, no. Or. 7005 ; cf. p. 266 for ' Collections of *qaṣīdas* by poets of Ḥaḍramawt '.

[5] ' Materials ', I, p. 297, no. 6. I have ascertained that the correct vocalization of the name is Ḥamīd and not Ḥumaid, and my previous error should be so corrected.

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a very old man. The details of the story which b. Hāshim narrates in his inimitable way have passed from my memory, but on asking for the history a bundle was delivered from a shelf into his hands as a gift. This b. Hāshim gave to the famous Ḥuraiḍah scholar Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās who used it in compiling his *Risālah*. B. Hāshim described it as two volumes, and believes it is now in Indonesia. One presumes copies or partial copies were made in Ḥuraiḍah, but if the original copy is there I have not seen it, and like so much of the library, it could have fallen victim to the white ant. B. Hāshim also described the history to me as *Muḍhakkirāt* ' Memoirs '. Here in fact is another source for modern history—the memoirs, a kind of writing that seems hardly to have existed in the past. Muḥammad b. Hāshim for instance, used the *Muḍhakkirāt Ghālib*, memoirs of Sulṭān Ghālib b. Muḥsin in his *Tārīkh*, and Bā Wazīr for very recent times has relied on the *Muḍhakkirah* of the Qaṭn Sulṭān, 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ.

Perhaps at this point I should allude to the numerous *mukātabāt*, *kalām*, *naṣā'iḥ*, etc., of famous Saiyids and Mashāyikh which form an additional source of historical matter for the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Though often tedious there is material frequently of interest in these huge volumes.

6. *The 'Alawī-Irshādī dispute and Ḥaḍramī historians*

Shortly before the First World War there arose a bitter dispute, which continued well into the 'thirties, between two groups of emigrant Ḥaḍramīs, the 'Alawīs and the Irshādīs, in Indonesia. In effect this was a struggle for predominance in the community between the more conservative Saiyids who had always wielded great influence, and those Ḥaḍramīs who denied their claim to privileges inaccessible to other ordinary Muslims. It would be oversimplification to the point of error to say that the 'Alawīs were all Saiyids and the Irshādīs were all Mashāyikh families of ancient stock. The Irshādīs took up the cry of reform, but though I have read very little of their writings, I doubt if they were modernists in any real sense. The Irshādīs were not permitted to rear their heads in Ḥaḍramawt because the Sulṭāns wished to remain friendly with the Saiyids. Notwithstanding, it is essential to recall that the Saiyids mostly show an ideological prejudice for the Kathīrī dynasty versus the Qu'aiṭīs, though this remark does not apply to certain outstanding Saiyid houses which are linked to the Qu'aiṭīs. The lengthy wrangle found its expressions in the publication of pamphlets [1] and in newspaper activity, and to it we owe perhaps in very large degree the impulse to embark upon the writing of histories. On the Saiyid side we have the journal *al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīyah* to which Saiyid 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād contributed some important articles ; vol. I was published in Batavia in 1347/1928–9.

The first printed history of Ḥaḍramawt to appear was Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī's *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-siyāsī* (Cairo, 1935–6), the second volume of which contains an excellent account of the 'Alawī-Irshādī dispute, though it is strongly

[1] cf. *The saiyids*, 22.

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anti-Saiyid in tone. Unfortunately the historical section of the book, it must be confessed, is inaccurate in many matters of detail, and a number of refutations (*rudūd*) [1] are in circulation in Ḥaḍramawt.

Ṣalāḥ's career is in itself instructive. When I met him at al-Qaṭn in 1947 I found him a pleasant-mannered young man, a Yāfi'ī of tribal stock who had spent many years in Indonesia, but returned to Egypt and became a teacher. After re-visiting Ḥaḍramawt he wrote a much less partial book *Fī janūb al-jazīrat al-'Arabīyah* (Cairo, 1949), utilizing material from b. Ḥamīd, a copy of whose history he was shown in Ghail Bā Wazīr. He followed this up later with a book of travel and history of Yāfi' territory itself, entitled *Fī sharq al-Yaman* (Cairo, 1955). After a short period of broadcasting from Holland he joined the Egyptian educational mission to Mecca where he was teaching when I last heard from him. His work could be described as more popular than scholarly, but it has a value in presenting history, especially recent history, from a non-Saiyid angle, and one with which the Qu'aiṭīs of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā would be in sympathy.

Another writer of Yāfi'ī stock is Shaikh 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-Nākhibī of al-Mukallā, *shā'ir al-dawlah* when we arrived there in 1947, who has been collecting materials on Yāfi'. As he is of the Kasādī branch his history if he has continued with it, would probably have a somewhat different outlook from that of Ṣalāḥ, but he is also collecting material of a purely literary nature. Al-Nākhibī is a man of a religious cast of mind, conservative but far from unprogressive; he would write fairly impartially, unless my personal liking for him deceives me.[2] Ṣalāḥ on the contrary is very much a modern, and his outlook probably resembles that of the playwright 'Alī Bā Kathīr whose early play *Humām* is documentary of social attitudes before the Second World War.

Before turning to the Saiyid school of historians I must deal with the appearance of a book which created a widespread sensation in Ḥaḍramī educated circles in 1954, a draft volume compiled for instruction in the schools by Shaikh Sa'īd 'Awaḍ b. Ṭāhir Bā Wazīr, and which eventually in a revised form was printed in Cairo in A.H. 1378 (with a preface dated 1376/1957) under the title *Ṣafaḥāt min al-tārīkh al-Ḥaḍramī*. At the coastal educational centre of Ghail Bā Wazīr an effort is being made to produce educational textbooks suitable for use in Ḥaḍramawt, including history books which it is generally agreed are an important part of education. Experimental work done at Bakht al-Ruda in the Sudan was taken over somewhat uncritically at times, and one of the projects was to write a history of Ḥaḍramawt through the study of its outstanding historical personages. However suitable this may have been in the

[1] I have before me Saiyid 'Abdullāh ('Abd al-Ilāh ?) b. Ḥasan Bal-Faqīh al-'Alawī's *Risālatān* published about 1954 (place unknown), one *risālah* of which is entitled *Tafnīd mazā'im al-Shaikh Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī fī taḥaqquqi-hi bi-nasab al-Imām Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Naqīb al-'Alawī al-Baṣrī*.

[2] Al-Nākhibī also collects Ḥaḍramī proverbs, averring that Shibām is the home of proverbial sayings and that many Aden proverbs are really Ḥaḍramī. He was also selecting a chrestomathy of poems by young Ḥaḍramīs, and he showed me some poems in praise of Ingrams who was compared with T. E. Lawrence, this probably in 1947.

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Sudan it was not very good policy in Ḥaḍramawt, and an official history had much better be written under the direction of a general editorial board representative of all sides, for no individual could satisfy all parties of his impartiality. The Singapore paper *Saut Hadramaut*[1] attacked Shaikh Sa'īd in a humorous discussion of the book for including the 'Khārijīs',[2] but there was a riposte in the Aden paper *al-Nahḍah*[3] by Aḥmad 'Awaḍ Bā Wazīr in an article presented to me, and advising me against ' a party which aims to conceal the treasures of Ḥaḍramī thought and obliterate them, sometimes because these treasures, as they assert, differ from the party in tenet and view '.

Though there were many points of criticism, the main controversy in Saiwūn and Tarīm was of the inclusion of Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī al-Ibāḍī, believed to have flourished about the first half of the fifth century A.H. The raw material was derived from Sulaimān al-Bārūnī's preface to the *Dīwān* of Abū Isḥāq which unfortunately I have not seen, but though I cannot check on al-Bārūnī's sources it looks as if his preface were based on the internal evidence of the *Dīwān* itself, and of course, assuming the *Dīwān* to be genuine, this is valid enough, and there is no reason to believe that Ibāḍism was not strong in Ḥaḍramawt at this period.[4] How important Abū Isḥāq was, however, is another matter, and he seems to have left no trace in Ḥaḍramī historical writing for even Bā Sharāḥīl makes no reference to him.[5] Saiyid Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī

[1] VI, 1, 26 May 1954, in an article, ' Ḥawl kitāb Shakhṣīyāt Ḥaḍramawt '.

[2] The descendants of the latter are accused of stealing Ḥaḍramī girls during the wartime famine to sell as slaves to the Bādiyat al-Rimāl who took them to sell in the Hejaz. An appeal is said to have been made to the Shaikh al-Azhar against this, which is said to have been printed in some Egyptian magazines.

[3] No. 225, 17 June 1954.

[4] Al-Maqdisī says of the capital of Ḥaḍramawt and its people, *Lahum fi 'l-'ulūm wa-'l-khair raghbah illā anna-hum shurāt shadīd sumratu-hum.* I have, here, to correct a reference in my *Saiyids* to the tribe of Hamdān known as B sh q, by Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, X, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (Cairo, 1948), p. 122, *wa-'l-N sh qiyūn bait gharaf kānū mulūk-an.* Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Paris, 1861–77), V, p. 67, says that in 332/944 Ḥaḍramawt was almost entirely Ibāḍī. Cf. ibid., V, p. 231.

[5] Oddly enough a *fiqh* book of Abū Isḥāq has survived, Rieu, *Suppl. to the catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the BM*, no. 1209/I, a Yemenite MS entitled *K. mā la yasa'u jahlu-hu* (*GAL*, Suppl., II, 249), but after a quick perusal I have not found this manuscript to contain any historical information. Brockelmann also mentions his *Dīwān* as printed in Cairo without date. This interesting fact seems unknown to the Ḥaḍramīs. Saiyid 'Abdullāh Bal-Faqīh criticizes the position accorded Abū Isḥāq in his *Istidrākāt wa-taḥarriyāt*, p. 16 seq. Tadeusz Lewicki, ' Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud au moyen âge ', *Folia Orientalia* (Kraków), I, 1, 1959, 3–17 (résumé in M. Canard, *Revue Africaine* (Alger), CIII, 460–6, 1959, 370), basing his statements on al-Sālimī's well-known history of Oman, says that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Qais b. Sulaimān al-Ḥaḍramī al-Hamdānī, was ' governor ' of Ḥaḍramawt on behalf of the Imām of Oman in the second half of the fifth/eleventh century. He became independent and succeeded in becoming Imām of Ḥaḍramawt. Ibāḍī sources allude to two more Imāms of Ḥaḍramawt, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, but without indication of the date of their reigns. I am very uncertain how much significance should be given to these statements of al-Sālimī, accepting that he has based them on documentary evidence. From other indications I doubt if this Imām could have held more than a part of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, perhaps the Wādī Daw'an and Shibām. On the other hand Shanbal does commence his history only in A.H. 500 when it might be that Ibāḍī power was on the wane, though I incline to think this is merely because little was known to him of the earlier period.

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al-Ḥāmidī's criticism too is that the sources say nothing of him. On the other hand there is some motivation for the inclusion of this personage as an early opponent to the Saiyids, perhaps to counterbalance the Saiyid figure of Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Muhājir. However, as a result of these representations a compromise was arrived at, and the book appeared some years later. In all fairness I must point to Saiyid 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Shihāb al-Dīn, *al-Thalāthah al-abṭāl* (Boudrouboudour, Weltevreden, 1340/1921–2) which presents a most tendentious and quite false view of Ḥaḍramī history, for he says of the Saiyid hero, al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam, ' He divided it (Ḥaḍramawt) into three classes, royal, military, and learned, putting the royal and learned in the hands of the 'Alawīs, while the military he placed in the hands of the tribes (*al-'Arab*), making the settlement of the soldiers outside the towns (*al-bilād*). Then he designated a place for each section of a tribe to stay, and made their sustenance to be from the tithes of the cultivated crops of the land, dates, grain, wheat, and millet. The 'Alawīs gave the soldiers the special technical name which is the *Jundī*, military affairs being entrusted to these, the 'Alawīs not even having the right to interfere with them. It was the duty of the *Junūd* to establish security and preserve it from any aggression coming from outside, and all internal movements that took place were to be referred to the soldiers '.

There is more in like vein, the polity of Saiyid ideals, but it cannot be considered an authentic interpretation of the facts.

'Abdullāh Bā Wazīr is accorded a place among the prominent personages of the past, and in truth we need not doubt that he was so, but where Mashāyikh families are concerned an analysis of such an historian as Shanbal shows that, to judge by the *obits*, individual families become prominent at certain times but disappear from the chronicles, although continuing to exist, such as the Bā Kurait of Saiḥūt. From Shanbal one would infer the Bā Wazīr to be comparatively late-comers.[1] My theory is that the chroniclers mention these groups of *faqīhs* because they were at the time important politically as well as in the religious sense. The order of events in the chronicles, obituaries of *fuqahā'* first, followed by tribal movements seems to me an indication of the sentiment that the representatives of the holy law were considered by them more important than temporal rulers.

7. *The Saiyid historians* [2]

The doyen of the historians is Saiyid 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād born in Qaidūn of Wādī Daw'an which he left in haste, early in life under a political cloud, taking with him some camel-loads of books, becoming eventually Muftī of Johore, a post from which I hear he has recently retired ; he made a short

[1] The Āl Bā Wazīr *Manāqib* which has been printed in Cairo, was dubbed, perhaps rather unkindly, by Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Kasr al-zīr fī manāqib Āl Bā Wazīr*. One of the sources mentioned by Sa'īd Bā Wazīr is *waṯā'iq wa-makhṭūṭāt qadīmah fī Tārīkh Āl Bā Wazīr*, no doubt a very sound source collection.

[2] Some of these historians, and also Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, I have discussed in an article 'Nashāṭ al-mu'arrikhīn al-Ḥaḍramīyīn, *al-Mustami' al-'Arabī* (London), XI, 9, 1950, 8–9.

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visit to Ḥaḍramawt over seven years ago. 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir is a fine critical scholar. It was said to me that his memory is prodigious and that he can remember the contents of a book word for word, having read it, even after some years, and even recall the page upon which a reference will be found. He is the author of a number of works, especially of 'Alawī history, and of strong 'Alawī sympathies though not to the extent of affecting his judgment unduly. His book *al-Shāmil fī tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt* . . . was in the press when Singapore was captured by the Japanese and was lost, but I have heard that he has another history about to be printed to replace it. Apart from his short *Jany al-shamārīkh*, he has also commenced to publish what purports to be a biography of Saiyid Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aṭṭās of Ḥuraiḍah, entitled *'Uqūd al-almās* (Singapore, 1949–50–). In reality the *'Uqūd* contains much general history of the Saiyids, and an inquiry into their ancestry for which an impressive range of classical Arabic sources, some unknown to Brockelmann, have been *dépouillé*.[1] Saiyid 'Alawī alludes to the gift made to the Ḥaḍramī Saiyids by the Sultan of Morocco in 1199/1785,[2] and to my surprise when I quoted this to Moroccan *'ulamā'* the incident was well known to them and recorded in their histories. There are many other interesting aspects of Ḥaḍramī history and its problems which he discusses in both of these works, and the *'Uqūd* is a most valuable and extensive survey of source material for Ḥaḍramī history in general. A much earlier work, indicative of Saiyid 'Alawī's leanings, is *al-Qawl al-faṣl fī-mā li-Banī Hāshim wa-Quraish min faḍl*, published at Boqor in 1344/1925–6, i.e. when the 'Alawī-Irshādī troubles were in full swing. I have heard that he is printing in Singapore a vast history of Ḥaḍramawt which would be the premier authority on this subject.[3]

The late Saiyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubaidillāh al-Saqqāf,[4] described as the Muftī of Ḥaḍramawt, is chiefly remembered as a legal authority of keen intelligence. I have been entertained at his *majlis* a number of times. Respected in Ḥaḍramawt for his sharp repartee, he was undoubtedly a great *'ālim*, and

[1] These are not examined here. A work entitled *al-Nafḥat al-'anbarīyah fī ansāb khair al-barīyah*, of which he thinks only one copy exists—in the hands of the recorder of the 'Alawī *ansāb* in Batavia, 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Saqqāf, is to be found also in several places in Europe (cf. *GAL*, Suppl., II, 239). A 1930 number of *al-Nahḍat al-Ḥaḍramīyah* mentions that even then he was writing a history. His knowledge extends also to Mahrah on whom he published an article in *al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīyah*, II, p. 97.

[2] *'Uqūd al-almās*, II, pp. 28, 32, 44. While actually writing this essay I was delighted to receive a letter from 'Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī of the Ministry of Public Instruction at Rabat, Morocco, who gave me the following abbreviated note from the MS *ḥawālat ḥabsīyah* in Morocco :

تنص سجلات الاوقاف المغربية التى ترجع لاوائل الدولة العلوية الحاكة، سواء منها ما هو مخطوط أيام المولى اسماعيل أو محمد الثالث على أن التزامات المغرب سنوياً نحو الحرمين الشريفين، واهل الحجاز ومصر وحضرموت كذلك كانت تقدر بآلاف الدنانير . . . وانه ينوب منها اهل بيت با علوى باليمن وحضرموت مائة دينار . . .

[3] He has been in correspondence with many scholars, among whom I might mention Anastase Marie al-Kirmilī with whom he discussed questions of the ancient Ḥimyarite language.

[4] He must have died in 1955 or 1956. D. van der Meulen, *Aden to the Hadramaut* (London, 1947), 179–80, gives further biographical details. I published a photograph of him in *al-Mustami' al-'Arabī*, loc. cit.

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trained his sons well also. In Indonesia he was involved in the 'Alawī-Irshādī troubles, and I have a *khuṭbah* delivered by him in the Jāmi' Mosque of Batavia (a copy of which he presented to me) in 1346/1928 [1]; in the following year he tried to make peace between the two parties. He told me that the letters he wrote in this connexion are incorporated in his MS history, *Baḍā'i' al-tābūt*,[2] which, with several other MSS of his, is now in the Sulṭān's Library in al-Mukallā. B. 'Ubaidillāh had at one time a fine collection of Arabic MSS including sheets from a Kūfic Qur'ān. He had also compiled a geographical cum historical dictionary of Ḥaḍramawt, and I have seen his *Dīwān* of *ḥakamī* poetry, though not his book on al-Mutanabbī.[3] B. 'Ubaidillāh seems to have printed little of his work, in all likelihood because he has lacked means to do so, but I possess some poems addressed to the Imām of the Yemen Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, for he was on friendly terms with the Zaidī royal house.[4] In Ḥaḍramawt learned opinion seemed to be that he was a little credulous and not overcritical as an historian, but of course a scholar of his eminence has obviously an important contribution to make to Ḥaḍramī historiography, and he was highly respected by many, more especially as he appears at times to have taken an attitude counter to the more extreme 'Alawīs.

The youngest member of the Saiyid historians of Ḥaḍramawt is Saiyid Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī al-Ḥāmidī, a poet of note [5] who has connexions with the Far East, and was to some extent affected by the cutting of the economic links with Java. He owns a fine library of MSS, including much Ḥaḍramī historical material, from which he has from time to time been most generous in lending me volumes, and he is a good critical scholar. It was with him that I read Shanbal and compared the text with other authors in manuscript. Saiyid Ṣāliḥ has written and lectured on the sources of Ḥaḍramī history in al-Mukallā, but though a copy of this lecture is probably in the library there it could not be found. His history is entitled *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt* and cannot be far from complete by now. From the extracts he has read to me, it seems a work of great merit, modern in approach and style. He was quite a number of years ago engaged in a learned controversy with Saiyid 'Alawī of Johore who wrote in reply to some of his questions a *risālah* entitled *Ithmid al-maḥājir* in which he maintains the ancestor of the Ḥaḍramī Saiyids was a Shāfi'ī, while Saiyid Ṣāliḥ holds that he was an Imāmī by *maḍhhab*. Saiyid b. 'Ubaidillāh added to this an appendix, said to be printed, supporting Saiyid Ṣāliḥ's view. The completion

[1] This version has sentences missing as it was taken down in the mosque while delivered, but the history supplies the lacunae.

[2] Numbered ' History 312–3 '. Sa'īd Bā Wazīr, *Ṣafaḥāt*, p. 258, also mentions as printed (but unknown to me), *Nasīm al-ḥājir*.

[3] *Al-'Ūd al-Hindī 'an majālis fī Dīwān al-Kindī*.

[4] *Al-Imāmīyāt* (Cairo, *c.* 1345/1926–7).

[5] His *Dīwān* was at the time reviewed in *al-Muqtaṭaf* and *al-Siyāsat al-Usbū'īyah*. He wrote frequently for the Egyptian press when he was in Singapore, though little was connected with Ḥaḍramawt. He has published in *Apollo*, II, 6, 1934, 495, and II, 9, 1934, 856, 858, 865 *Fi 'l-fustān al-aḥmar*. His *dīwān Layāli 'l-maṣīf* has been printed, but I do not think his next *dīwān*, *'Alā shāṭi' al-ḥayāt* has yet appeared. Cf. *GAL*, Suppl., III, 498.

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of Saiyid Ṣāliḥ's history may of latter years have been delayed by his work on the State Council, and he always seems to have been much consulted in Saiwūn on legal questions.

The two prominent historians of Tarīm are Saiyid Muḥammad b. Hāshim of the Āl Yaḥyā from Masīlat al-Shaikh, and Saiyid 'Abd al-Ilāh (or 'Abdullāh) b. Ḥasan Bal-Faqīh, but there are other scholars interested in history, especially that of the Saiyids ; some of these I have met, others not, for in so conservative a city not all the *'ulamā'* care to meet a non-Muslim. Of Saiyid b. Hāshim I have spoken elsewhere at some length,[1] an outstanding and delightful personality, broad-minded and of very liberal outlook considering the age and milieu into which he was born. In Java he was acquainted with Snouck Hurgronje of whom he likes to tell stories, for he is a great raconteur. Not over-well provided with the goods of this world, b. Hāshim has had always to earn his living through his pen or by teaching, and so came to the field of history writing from journalism and politics. At one time he was even Kathīrī State Secretary. Apart from articles his published work has clearly been written with a patron in mind, as in the case of his *Riḥlah* [2] which has some historical matter, and the story of the Āl Kāf family entitled *Dawr Āl Kāf*, a part of which I saw in MS copy in the house of Jamal al-Lail b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, to cover approximately a period of 130 years. The first volume of his *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathīrīyah* appeared in Cairo in 1948, naturally pro-Kathīrī in tendency, though, to our great loss, b. Hāshim has been deprived of the faculty of sight, and is frail with age, so I fear we may never see the concluding volume. The list of sources cited in his *Tārīkh* does not comprise Shanbal, a portion of which I read with, or rather to him in 1953, but it does include b. Ḥamīd. The most enduring part of the book will be his study of the efforts of his ancestor Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain to establish Saiyid hegemony in Ḥaḍramawt [3] for his account of these events must surely embody tradition extant in his family. B. Hāshim uses what is described by 'Alī Bā 'Abūd as *al-mawāthīq wa-'l-'uhūd 'ala 'l-Sādah, wa-'l-'abīd wa-'l-junūd* of the Imām Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain which he says are found in libraries in Ḥaḍramawt.[4] Valuable as b. Hāshim's history is, it is, one must admit, not free from mistakes which easier circumstances would have enabled him to avoid, but in Tarīm his gay and gallant person, even in blindness, will remain alive long after he has been gathered to the *Salaf*. Apart

[1] *Al-Mustami' al-'Arabī*, loc. cit. It was only after I had written this article that I came across a recent number of *al-Ṭalī'ah* (al-Mukallā, 18 August 1960), no. 62, p. 5, by Ḥusain al-Bārr, entitled أنصفوا هذا الرجل بعد موته and realized that our old friend had left us. The article which is laudatory in tone, refers to his *ḥakamī* and *ḥumainī* poetry, and it seems also that he had written, but not published *Dukhūl al-Islām ilā Indonesia*, and *al-Kharrīt 'ala 'l-Yawāqīt*.

[2] *Al-Riḥlat ila 'l-thaqhrain* (Cairo, A.H. 1350).

[3] *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathīrīyah*, pp 127 seq , mentioning, p. 128, a MS work, *Sharḥ khuṭbat al-Ḥabīb Ṭāhir* of 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad Bā Sawdān. A list of his works is given by b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, p. 131.

[4] ' Min tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-siyāsī ', loc. cit. It seems that b. Hāshim also published some historical articles in *Ṣafḥat al-Ikhā' al-Ḥaḍramī*. I have a brief article of his, ' al-Zaidīyah bi-Ḥaḍramawt ', *al-Afkār* (Aden), I, 8, 1947, 23–5.

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from these activities he was an enthusiastic collector of *ḥumainī* verse, himself a poet, and of the colloquial language of Tarīm.

Saiyid 'Abd al-Ilāh [1] unfortunately, I do not know well. A fine exact scholar and man of high repute for integrity, probably in his late sixties or early seventies, he is writing a history, and is specially interested in his ancestor 'Īsā al-Muhājir. Like all scholars of his generation he has spent many years in the East Indies and while in Java he contributed articles to the local Ḥaḍramī papers *al-Iqbāl* and *Ḥaḍramawt*, participating also in their management. Such writings of his as I have seen are works of criticism like his riposte to Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī,[2] and his criticism of Sa'īd Bā Wazīr's first draft for his *Ṣafaḥāt*.[3] The late Shaikh Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Bā Faḍl composed what appears to be an interesting work entitled *Ṣilat al-ahl fī tarājim Āl Bā Faḍl* [4] about 1920–5, but I have not been able to consult a copy and have no idea whence he drew his information. To this he has written a *radd* [5] of which he presented me with a MS copy. Historical composition (*tadwīn*), he maintains, commenced about the end of the sixth century A.H. (twelfth century A.D.), the oldest writers being Tarīmīs. He mentions Abū Sa'īd Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḥibb (*ob.* Tarīm 611/1214–15),[6] author of *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, stated to have compiled a biography of the Imām Sālim b. Baṣrī (*ob.* Tarīm, 604/1207–8).[6] Another historian was Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Muḥ. Bā 'Īsā (*ob.* Tarīm 628/1230–1), an author not mentioned by Shanbal. Later writers are believed to have incorporated an undetermined proportion of their data in their own writings. The title of Bal-Faqīh's study in progress is *Ṣubḥ al-dayājir fī tārīkh al-Muhājir*.[7] I am indebted to Saiyid 'Abd al-Ilāh for the loan of an early MS of Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī's history.

[1] I have heard his name so, but he seems to write it as 'Abdullāh.

[2] *Risalātān*. The first is on the name al-Naffāṭ, also discussed at length in the *'Uqūd al-almās* by 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, applied in the *'Umdat al-ṭālib* of Ibn 'Inabah to the Saiyid ancestor Aḥmad b. 'Īsā. For the second *risālah* entitled *Tafnīd mazā'im*, see p. 250, n. 1.

[3] *Istidrākāt wa-taḥarriyāt 'alā Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt fī shakhṣiyāt* (Aden, 1956). His *Naḥwa 'l-madkhal*, *infra.*, n. 7, also contains a reply to Bā Wazīr's article in *al-Naḥḍah* (Aden, 16.10.1373 A.H.).

[4] Reported also as *Ṣilat al-ahl bi-tadwīn manāqib* . . . . Muḥ. Bā Faḍl is described as *al-adīb al-shā'ir*, and he died, if I am correct, in 1953. *'Uqūd al-almās*, II, p. 65, calls it *Ṣilat al-ahl bi-tadwīn mā tafarraq min manāqib Banī Faḍl*.

[5] *Jalā' al-ḥaqā'iq wa-tamḥīṣ al-naql ḥawl mā awradahu mu'allif Ṣilat al-ahl fī 'l-tarjamah li-Faḍl b. Muḥammad wālid al-Imām Ṣāliḥ b. Faḍl*. Cf. *Saiyids*, 14.

[6] His name appears in Shanbal's history.

[7] For another MS work cf. *Saiyids*, 20. Saiyid 'Abdullāh b. Ḥasan has lately sent me a copy of his most recent publication, *Taḍhkirat al-bāḥith al-muḥtāṭ fī shu'ūn wa-tārīkh al-Ribāṭ* (Aden [1961]), with an introduction by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāmid al-Sirrī, containing some biographical details on Saiyid 'Abdullāh Bal-Faqīh. It appears that he has written though not yet published, except in the medieval form of MS circulation perhaps, a *Taqrīẓ* (*Jawāb shāhir*) to Muḥammad b. Hāshim's history. In the press is *Lamḥah min zāwiyat al-tārīkh al-Ḥaḍramī*, but *Naḥwa 'l-madkhal ila 'l-tārīkh al-Ḥaḍramī* is still in MS form. Among the other works mentioned (p. 9 of *Taḍhkirat al-bāḥith*) is a criticism of the *qā'idah* of Ibn Khaldūn. It could be that this last-named study contains a significant contribution to literature on Ibn Khaldūn, given Saiyid 'Abdullāh Bal-Faqīh's sound scholarship. The *Taḍhkirat al-bāḥith* is an essay on the celebrated Ribāṭ of Tarīm where so many Ḥaḍramī, Malayan, and East African *'ulamā'* received their training, including the text of the *waqfiyah* deed of foundation.

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A scholar I have not met is Saiyid 'Abdullāh b. Muḥ. b. Ḥāmid al-Saqqāf, of the Ḥaḍramī colony in Cairo. At one time he used to lecture in Tarīm, and was formerly editor of the Ḥaḍramī MS journal *'Ukāẓ*.[1] His *Tārīkh al-shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramīyīn* (Cairo, A.H. 1353–) has now reached its fifth volume. This is not really in any sense a history of literary trends or movements, but a very stereotyped form of composition, a collection of biographies. As the book progresses it comes to deal almost entirely with Saiyid versifiers to the exclusion of others, while the poetry is not only, nearly without exception, classical, but mostly of a Ṣūfistic cast. Great as has been the Saiyid contribution to Ḥaḍramī letters, and vastly as it has grown over latter centuries, I cannot believe that it dominated poetry to this extent, any more than one can accept that learning is exclusively their sphere of activity. Nevertheless this work cannot be neglected for it contains most useful bio-bibliographical information.[2] At all periods, of course, poetry is an historical source never to be neglected. The author refers to a political history [3] upon which he is engaged, but of this I know nothing else.

Finally I must not omit to mention Saiyid 'Alī Bā 'Abūd of Cairo whom I met on his brief visit to Aden in 1954, and to whom casual reference has been made in the course of this survey, but I am uncertain as to how far he has maintained his interest in writing history. In an article written in 1931 he alludes to the *Tārīkh Bā Ḥassān* as extant in Ḥuraiḍah, and a complete copy of Bā Makhramah's *Tārīkh 'Adan*. He also mentions two histories, unknown to Brockelmann, in Ḥuraiḍah at that time, al-'Āmilī, *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓalām fī-man bi-Ḥaḍramawt min al-'Arab wa-khālaṭahum min al-A'jām*, and Ibn Maṭrūḥ al-Ṣan'ānī, *'Ajā'ib al-zaman fī akhbār Ḥaḍramawt wa-Ṣan'ā' al-Yaman*, as well as the *Tārīkh* and *Dīwān* of Ibn 'Uqbah.[4]

8. *Social history*

Southern Arabia, especially Ḥaḍramawt, is rich in *Fatāwā* literature in which lies a mine of information as to the social structure, religion, superstitions, institutions, agriculture, irrigation, economy, and manners of the country. I have even found useful data on coinage and trade there. Because

[1] Biographical note in b. Hāshim, *Riḥlah*, pp. 65–7. He was head of the *Jamā'at al-Difā' 'an al-Sādat al-'Alawīyīn bi-'l-Qāhirah*. He was writing on Ḥaḍramī poets in the Singapore paper *al-Nahḍat al-Ḥaḍramīyah* in its first year of publication in 1933.

[2] To add to the biographical works I have mentioned in 'Materials' or my *Saiyids*, is Muḥ. b. Muḥ. . . . Zabārah, *Mulḥaq* to *al-Badr al-ṭāli'* of Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī (Cairo, A.H. 1348).

[3] *TSH*, III, p. 114.

[4] Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, *Tārīkh*, II, p. 169, quotes 150 verses approximately of this poet which he states are all that have survived.

'Alī Bā 'Abūd, in his article in the *RAAD* (Damascus), XI, 7–8, 1931, 440–1, informs us that his father Muḥ. b. 'Aqīl had Hamdānī's *Iklīl*, I, al-Sharjī, *Tārīkh Zabīd wa-dhailu-hu*, and *Tārīkh mulūk Ḥimyar* the measurements of the latter being approximately 15 × 20 cm. He does not know where these MSS are now though he thinks the last-named may be in Taimūr Bāshā's library. There was also a copy of the *Maqāmāt Bā 'Abūd*. None of these works are known to Brockelmann.

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of local usages described and the colloquial words employed, *Fatāwā* literature is often far from easy to understand, but it would not be too much to say that an adequate social history cannot be written until the bulky *Fatāwā* literature has been reported, classified, and ransacked. Dealing generally with real cases it is complementary to the source material in the hagiologies.

Every notable family, though only of local fame has preserved many legal documents. At the time of the Kathīrī-Qu'aiṭī boundary award in 1948 sackfuls of such documents were produced. This rich raw material will have to be digested by local historical societies before it can be used for general history. It includes title-deeds to houses, land, water-rights, and indeed a whole range of privileges and concessions. In this field I have made experiments more to learn about institutions than with the idea of writing a consecutive history, for it is a prerequisite of writing any history of Ḥaḍramawt that one should understand how its institutions work. Of these undoubtedly the most interesting is the *ḥawṭah* organization, but while tribal institutions are generally better comprehended, much is still to be learned about them. Actual treaties are to be found in the hands of many leading families. I think the document collections on the town wards, on the *dallāls*, and the customary law of two fishing communities which I am preparing for publication will throw fresh light not only on Ḥaḍramī social history but on that of Arabia as well; yet there remain other aspects of Ḥaḍramī institutions of which I know virtually nothing. Throughout the Islamic period too, it must be recalled that it was customary law that was operative outside the larger towns, and often partially in these as well, i.e. tribal law and not *sharī'ah*. Yet another aspect of Ḥaḍramī history is that of the gradual erosion of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt leading to depopulation. From various MSS I have taken scattered notes on the famous floods, but there is actually a *maqāmah* in the Dār al-Kutub (no. 1257), *Tadhkirat al-mutadhakkir fī-mā jarā min al-sail al-mutabaḥḥir* of 'Abdullāh b. Ja'far b. 'Alawī which among other things mentions the famous Iklīl flood, a flood in Wādī 'Idim of A.H. 1049, and another celebrated flood of A.H. 1134 which fell on 20 Ramaḍān. Were the data relating to these floods assembled and analysed we should be in possession not only of information which would shed new light on Ḥaḍramī history but which would actually be of some use even to-day in reviving the irrigation system.

9. *An historical forgery*

An entertaining book is *Riḥlat al-Maghribī*, a MS copy of which was lent to me by Saiyid 'Abd al-Ilāh b. Ḥasan Bal-Faqīh.[1]

In Mecca the pretended author encounters two Ḥaḍramīs who drink coffee in the morning, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, a Sharīf, and Shaikh Bā Faḍl. The author arrives at al-Shiḥr in a dhow (*sā'iyah*), and small craft (*zawāriq*)

[1] It begins:

هذه رحلتى الى مدينة تريم اختصرتها غاية الاختصار قال رجل من المغاربة وقد رحل قبلي الى هـذه المدينة المباركة والدى . . .

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plying for hire come forth to meet it. From here they journey seven days to Tarīm *bi-mashy khafīf*, arriving outside it on the evening of the eighth day, whereupon the Sharīf dispatches a messenger to announce the fact to his family, and many Ashrāf and others come forth to greet them. They first go alone to visit al-Faqih al-Muqaddam in the cemetery and then go to the Sharīf's house.

The author learns that the coffee brought him originates from the Yemen, and says,

ولعل ما تحتاجون اليه كذلك يأتيكم من اليمن فقال لى وانما هى القهوة فقط من اليمن واغلب ما نحتاج اليه انما هو ببلادنا الا إبر الخياطة ومواسى الحلاقة وكحل العيون فياتيتا به الحجاج مع رجوعهم من الحج فقلت له وهذه الثيـــاب تنسجونها هنا فقال نعم وتزيد عن الحاجة فيذهب بها التجار الى اليمن فيبيعونها هناك معاوضة بالبن.

' " It may perhaps be that what you require comes to you from the Yemen ? " But he said to me, " It is only just coffee (that comes) from the Yemen, and most of what we require is from our own country, except needles for sewing, razors for shaving, and kohl for our eyes. The pilgrims returning from the *ḥajj* bring these to us ". I said to him, " And these clothes—do you weave them here ? " To which he replied, " Yes, and they are more than we need, and traders take them to the Yemen and sell them there in return for coffee (bunn)." ' This I have heard Raḥaiyam say many times, and believe it to be current sayings in Tarīm which the forger has embodied in his book.

The writer asks about coinage (*ḍarībah*) used in transactions, to which the reply is that transactions (*mu'āmalah*) are in red and white wheat (*ḥinṭah*) and dates. There is some coinage (*ḍarībah*) in circulation, but little and only found with some people, the word *al-jalālah* being inscribed on it. 100 pieces of it are worth a *riyāl* in the Yemen. No dīnārs are to be found here. It may be remarked that earlier on the author alludes to *'ashr riyāl-an Ashrafīy-an*, 10 Ashrafī riyāls which is patently inconsistent. Coffee is mentioned as drunk in scholarly circles, but I doubt if it was an established custom at this time, for the author's father is said to have visited Ḥaḍramawt in 822/1419-20, and the author himself, 33 years later. No author's name being mentioned, and no identifiable person, the book is a palpable forgery as some Ḥaḍramī scholars believe, and it was first produced in suspicious circumstances. To revert to the question of coinage, apart from the inconsistency already remarked, we discover from Shanbal that the *dirham*, *saghīr*, and *kabīr* were known.

10. *Works thought to be no longer extant* [1]

The following histories are believed to have been completely lost, or seem to be unknown except in citation.

Tārīkh Ḥanbal (*Jany al-shamārīkh*, p. 30).

[1] Again I have not repeated ' Materials ', I and II, unless new information is available.

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Dhail Ṭabaqāt al-Asnawī, of 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Bā Makhramah (*Jany*, p. 30 ; *Mashra'*, II, p. 11).

Tārīkh al-Saiyid 'Umar b. Muḥ. al-Ṣāfī (*Jany*, p. 30).

Tārīkh al-Shiblī (*Jany*, p. 26 alludes to this history but I have no further details about it, unless it be ' Materials ', I, p. 306, no. 21).[1]

Ṭabaqāt 'Īsā b. Muḥ. al-Ḥabshī. (*Jany*, p. 30 ; no doubt ' Materials ', II, p. 584, no. xix. It is stated to exist in MS, but to be incomplete.)

Tārīkh Bā Kathīr. (No particulars available, but said to be extant in a library in India. The Bā Kathīr of Saiwūn have some family history.)

Till recently I had considered *al-Dalā'il wa-'l-akhbār fī khaṣā'iṣ Ẓufār* of Sulṭān 'Abdullāh b. Ja'far b. 'Umar al-Kathīrī (b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, p. 57) to be known only by citation, until recently by the courtesy of Dr. Wendell Phillips who had it photographed in Ẓufār, a copy of this work was made available to me. The MS adds the further names b. Muḥ. b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-Kathīrī and describes him as the first of the Āl Kathīr to possess Ẓufār, a statement which seems very dubious. There is not much of great originality in the *risālah* which quotes extensively from Bā Makhramah, with many variant readings on the poem of al-Tikrītī, and from al-Khazrajī ; nor does there seem to be any indication of the date of composition. From b. Hāshim's *Tārīkh* by inference, it might be placed about A.H. 1000, but closer study of the text may enable one to narrow down the possibilities more precisely.

11. *Historical MSS in 'Awlaqī territory*

On my brief visit to Yashbum in 1954 I saw in the hands of Bū Nigmah, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad Bā Nāfi', the *manṣab* of the famous Shaikh 'Ubaid of that place, a *miswaddah*, *Majmū' ḥikāyāt wa-qaṣā'id bi-'sm ṣāḥibi-hi al-ḥaqīr*, 'Alī b. Aḥmad Bā Nāfi', which looked as if it contained some historical matter. In Hyderabad and perhaps too in southern Arabia there is said to exist a MS, *al-Ḍiyā' al-shāriq fī ansāb al-'Awāliq* probably collected by 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī Bā Nāfi'. The Bā Nāfi' are a famous family of Mashāyikh of the 'Awlaqī country in particular, though found also elsewhere. 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir himself obtained some material, no doubt orally, from the 'Awlaqī, Miḥsin b. Farīd. I have also a copy of an incomplete *shajarah* of the 'Awlaqīs made by a member of the Jifrī family, showing the main tribal groups. The 'Awlaqīs are not of course in Ḥaḍramī territory, but they have been closely associated with its history from time to time.

This sketch, however incomplete it is, will it is hoped, convey some notion

[1] 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir in *Shāmil*, p. 41 states that Sālim b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Miḥḍār took notes from *Tārīkh al-Mashāyikh Āl Muḥ. b. 'Umar al-Khawlānī al-Mālikī—wa-min-hum Āl Shiblī wa-Āl Isrā'īl* in *al-Rawḍah*, and Āl al-Faqīh 'Alī in his *Ḥawṭah*. He collected this material from '*Ta'ālīq*', among which was the *Khaṭṭ* of the *faqīh* Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Shiblī (*ob.* 1124/1712–13), and that of the *faqīh* Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. 'Abdullāh al-Makhramī called *Bū Nijmah al-Shāfi'ī Bā Nāfi'*, and other sources. The *'Uqūd al-almās*, II, p. 47, has some notes on the Wāḥidī scholars, relevant in this context.

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of the principal sources for Ḥaḍramī history up to the present age, i.e. the era when we are able to draw upon archives and newspapers [1] which latter have proliferated since the Second World War, ephemeral though the majority of them be. A first duty and service should be to record and photograph as many MSS as possible.

[1] I have accumulated material for a history of the press in South Arabia, but it is far from complete, especially where papers printed abroad, as in Indonesia, are concerned.

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